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the ground before them. Then the waiting spearmen discharge their darts at the flying disk, seeing in imagination the wild pig flying past the hunter. This, like most native games, has no finality and no winner. Whoever lodges his mock spear in the rolling disk utters his shout of triumph—maybe his own name or that of his clan—while all rush forward to recover their weapons and form into line again for the next attempt.

A more uproarious pastime is the sham fight between two contending parties, when mock spears are thrown with great violence and evaded with great address. The spear is usually the six-feet-long stalk of a large herb weighted with its rhizome, a very solid knob, which gives power and directness to the missile and makes it worth one's while to dodge. The shield is a miniature of light palm spathe. Armed with these weapons the parties attack one another, launching their spears or parrying or dodging those of the enemy with all the cries and actions of true warfare. When the game is played by small boys, the contending parties draw closer and closer, snatching up and returning the spent weapons of their adversaries with gradually mounting spirit, until the combat thickens and may become a hand-to-hand scuffle in which the spear is turned into a club. An unlucky hit may compel one of the combatants to withdraw weeping from the fray, but one never sees bad blood engendered in these village games, however warlike, and a stand-up fight must be a very rare occurrence.

With the approach of dusk the various families of the village will forsake amusement and employment, or the lack of either, for the business of eating their evening meal. About this there is little or no formality. The housewife is responsible for the due preparation of the repast, which is the only regular one of the day. If she be a dutiful spouse she seldom fails in punctuality, for the hungry Orokaiva husband is short-tempered and any break-down in the catering of his household will cause domestic disagreement. (Indeed, it would appear that neglect of household duties may be as just and potent a cause of divorce as actual infidelity.) There will be a few friendly gifts of food. If a man

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512 has made a catch of fish his wife, having cooked it in the
431 evening, will carry portions across to her neighbours; but for the most part the meal is prepared for the immediate family.

512 After dark there is conversation and the liveliness of the
521 village will continue. Any happening of the humdrum day
578 will have passed from ear to ear, and one may now hear occasional shouted comments, greeted with yells of laughter from a distant fireside. Some incident of slighted feelings during the day may lead to an angry outburst in the evening, when the victim pours forth his feelings in a molten stream of indignation, which may call forth fierce retorts, but is more likely to be heard in silence by the rest of the village. Sometimes an individual, either to air his own grievance or express his opinion in an inter-clan dispute, will parade back and forth among the houses, shaking his spear and denouncing his enemy. But happily, though swift to anger, the Orokaiva is content to allow it a verbal overflow, and very seldom comes to blows with his fellow villagers.

512 Often the menfolk of the village will be met in a cheerful
533 company to enliven—or some would say make hideous—the night with song. The singers assemble in the *oro* or men's house, drawn into a close circle about a fire or preferably a kerosene lamp. Three or four drums and a conch-
[534] shell are the instruments of music, the last in the hands of a smallish boy who, though thrust somewhat into the background, willingly supplies the wind for an instrument which is more exacting of endurance than of musical finesse. When everything is in readiness the drums begin to beat and some precentor strikes up on a high pitch, singing with spirit and not without a certain taste one or two bars of a melody to words that are for the most part meaningless. As he finishes, his song is caught up and repeated in a very full-throated manner by the chorus, accompanied by the drums and the well-timed but not always harmonious blasts of the shell trumpet. The leader sings again and the chorus follows, till, after many repetitions, they all pause from their exertions and refresh themselves with betel-nut. With frequent changes of tune and frequent pauses this singing may go one till late at night; indeed on occasions of festivity

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574 Towards the end of the day comes the formal distribution
431 of food. The master of the feast, conferring anxiously with his friends, has been setting out the taro in heaps, making them correspond by laborious arithmetic with the number of his principal guests. Now that the tally appears satisfactory, he turns, with an enthusiasm bordering on violence, to the distribution. With loud shouts he and his assistants rush back and forth depositing, or often rather hurling down, bunches of taro before the guests, who accept them with a fitting appearance of indifference. In the same way the pig flesh—legs, quarters, chines, and entrails—are bestowed on top of the taro heaps, and the guests are ready to depart. They have been sufficiently regaled throughout the day; the food thus finally distributed is to be carried home.
574 The women pack it into their string bags and prepare to
431 move off. Men and children will bear their part. One
482 remembers the spectacle of a diminutive child bearing away the blood-spattered head of a huge pig, balanced with difficulty and pride upon his own small crown. Thus laden with proofs of friendship the guests depart to await the time when, in a year or so, they will make a similar return of hospitality.

535 With certain of these festivals there will go the dance and
536 pantomine. The Orokaiva ballet will be described in greater detail in another chapter, but in passing one may claim that its brilliant natural setting, the sudden theatrical entry of the performers into the sunlit village, their paint and feathers and voluminous costumes of dyed palm-leaf, the inspiriting beat of the drum, and above all the swift movements of the dance, full of grace and power, all combine to make a spectacle that one might even call magnificent. The mime comes as a dramatic interlude in the dance, and presents as a theme some legend or incident of village life, enacted with great spirit and humour, and sometimes with considerable taste, upon the most realistic of stages—the village itself, and in the midst of the audience who are on such intimate terms with the actors as occasionally to add an extempore touch of their own to the play.

Such social amusements as these still continue, one is happy to say, to add some zest and interest to native life.

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the mouth of the lime-pot and then into the mouth of the chewer, who sucks off the thin coating of lime powder. Usually the spatula is very indifferently carved, for the Orokaiva is no wood-carver; the few examples illustrated are of somewhat exceptional merit (Plate XIII). With the large lime-pot (*kananga*) there usually goes a spatula of bone, and the two together may constitute an *otobu* or ceremonial gift made at initiation, though in use they are both appropriate to old age, and a youth or person of small consequence would not have the effrontery to use them. The old man makes a somewhat ostentatious rattling of the bone spatula against the opening of the *kananga*.

Tobacco is a late introduction in the Northern Division, having preceded the European by hardly more than a generation. The evidence clearly indicates that the mountaineers behind Kokoda first brought it to the Orokaiva, and that, travelling from the neighbourhood of Kokoda, it had not reached the Mambare or the lower Kumusi by the time MacGregor first visited these rivers.[1] Its original names are said to have been *orokaiva* (or *kaiva*) and *kuku*, the last being used before the whites brought their trade tobacco, which is now known throughout the Territory as *kuku*. The name *orokaiva* has already been discussed, but with regard to the others, *kaiva* and *kuku*, it may be worth while drawing attention to the singular coincidence that the two words are joined together in the Gulf Division and indicate a masked figure, *Kaivakuku*, and that in the Northern Division they are alternative names for the same substance, native tobacco.

Several other names, more or less local, are used, viz. *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* (derived from the resemblance of the tobacco leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees); *Masati*, which is said to be the same word as *masa*, 'stink'; and *soka*, which bears a suspicious resemblance to the name *sokawa*, commonly used for tobacco west of the Fly river, and may have been introduced by the early Kiwai police. Several varieties are distinguished. The leaf is simply sun-dried, and is smoked either in the well-known bamboo tube (*paru*) or else rolled with some leaf or other into a cigarette.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 31, 34.

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847 no means impossible that infanticide is practised. Upon this vexed question, however, I have on the one hand no tangible evidence, and on the other a great number of denials.

553 608 *Naming.* It is necessary to make sure that the child is to survive and thrive before a name is given it, though the reason for this delay is not made clear. There seems to be no actual formality of name-giving, but some person is asked to stand godfather or godmother to the child, who will take his or her name. This person is called *tato* (a reciprocal term between godfather and godchild). There is no reluctance on the part of the *tato* to undertake the few obligations which belong to this relationship. A man wishes to have his name carried on by another after his death. If he have children he hopes that one of them will honour him by bestowing his name on a grandson. If he be childless he exclaims, 'Who will catch my name?' and hopes that some friend or relative will solve the difficulty by asking him to stand as *tato* to one of his children. An old woman said she expected one of her daughters to name a future child after her; adding, however, that if she did not—well, it would not matter; she would just die without leaving her name behind her. I know of no article of belief which would make this namesake system necessary. The principal motive appears to be the desire not to be forgotten. Not infrequently the relation is a posthumous one: the relatives of the deceased say they are 'very sorry for him' and must not allow him to be forgotten. The two *tato* do not stand in any special kin relationship to one another. In various instances noted, the elder has been to the younger either *abije* (pat. grandfather), *abije* (mat. grandfather), *mama* (pat. uncle), *nobo*, and *simbo*; and in the case of women, *abije* (mat. grandmother) and *tata*. A woman may pay a second husband the compliment of naming his son after her first husband, so as to perpetuate the latter's memory.

608 431 A few mutual obligations belong to the *tato*. At the child's birth his *tato* brings firewood for the comfort of mother and child; and a female *tato* is supposed to wash the new-born baby. Continual presents of food are given, and the elder *tato* will take an interest in and make a pet of the

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younger. It appears that it is his special duty to make the perforations in the child's ears and nose. Return presents of food are made by the child's father; and it will stay from time to time in the elder *tato's* house and give him some assistance in his garden.

An Orokaiva child invariably has two alternative names, and frequently more. The 'name proper' (*javo be*) is that of its *tato*; the alternative, a nick-name, is called *javo isapo*, the 'small name'. A child may acquire his *javo isapo* by some accident of birth, e.g. one is called Ijita ('In the Sun') because she was brought to birth in a hot sunny place; another Bokoru ('Swamp') because he was born in a swamp; another is Pokoembo, because of a congenitally malformed foot. Such nicknames may be given for what must seem to us the most bizarre reasons. A man returning from a flood-time hunting expedition happened to fall into a hole full of water; on reaching home and finding that his wife had presented him with a child, he named it Hotera, 'In the hole'. Another returning home found that his son had died and was already wrapped or swathed (*egari*) in pandanus mats for burial. He cried, 'Open the mats for me to see my son', and gave to a child born shortly afterwards the somewhat ghastly name of Egari.

The *javo isapo* may be acquired at any age. A boy is named Sombi because as a youngster he captured a small lizard (*sombi*) and showed it to his parents. Another is Dumai, because on the occasion of a former cannibal raid he ran with the speed of a *dumai* or meteor—whether towards or away from the enemy was not specified. A third is called Jipari or 'shaker', because having survived a blow from a stone club, he startled or impressed his friends by the jerking or shaking (*jipari*) of his head. The commonest source of Orokaiva names, however, is simply the bush, and the frequency of botanic names, i.e. of trees, plants, and so forth, will be referred to in Chapter VIII, where it will be shown to bear on the question of the Plant Emblem.

Still another method of acquiring a name will call for notice in another place. This is the assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Whatever be the reason for this

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551 practice the new name (that of the slain) almost entirely supersedes the old; and, what is of importance here, the name of the slain warrior is sometimes taken not by the slayer himself but by his son. Instances of this are not uncommon.

304 *Body Deformations.* The perforations of the ear-lobes are made within the first few months of the infant's life. The piercing of the nasal septum is delayed until it is perhaps a year or so old. Among nearly all the Orokaiva both operations are performed simply by clamping on a tortoise-shell ring (*siatu*) which gradually works through the flesh. Strictly speaking it is the duty of the *tatu* to provide the *siatu*, but the rule is not always observed.[1] Among the Hunjara tribe, I believe, it is the custom to defer the making of the nose-hole until the initiation ceremony, when youths and girls, sitting in a row, have to submit their noses to a painful and sometimes bloody thrust with a bone needle.

291 852 *The Assumption of Clothing.* Young children—boys or girls—go naked. With boys it is usual among all the tribes to assume the perineal band (*bo*) at various ages before they reach puberty. This is certainly the modern usage, and I believe it was the former usage also. Whether it was formerly permissible for the boy to adopt his *bo* without any ceremony (as he sometimes does nowadays) I cannot say; but it appears that any festivity might be made the occasion of bestowing it. For instance, at a dance which forms one of the earliest of the mortuary ceremonies, a youngster received his *bo* as a sort of extraneous incident in the day's procedure; and the same occurred in another ceremony in which the widow was finally discarding her mourning. [431] The formal bestowal of a *bo* means a present to the man who bestows it, so that when a pig is killed for any major ceremony it is a good opportunity for providing a share as payment for a minor rite. The occasion for honouring the child is all the more fitting as a large number of spectators will be present.

[1] In *J. R. A. I.* lv, 1925, p. 407, I wrote: 'The maternal uncle has certain ceremonial duties to perform, e. g. that of piercing the child's nose. . . .' It appears, however, that this duty does not belong necessarily to the maternal uncle or side.

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At the initiation or seclusion the candidates all receive new *bo*, which are stained red. As it is usual for the candidate to be fully developed he has nearly always assumed his *bo* previously through motives of modesty; but it is now bestowed again. On only one occasion have I seen a youth brave it out, and wait for a formal opportunity of assuming a perineal band even after he had obviously reached the age of puberty.

The *bo* is given by any of a variety of relatives. Among fifteen instances it was given six times by the true father, six times by the maternal uncle, and once each by the paternal grandfather, the maternal grandfather, and the elder brother. For the actual investiture a man of distinction may be asked to officiate, just as in the more important *Otohu* ceremony the *otohu* is bestowed by a noted warrior.

The girl's *bo*, a skirt of bark-cloth, is assumed at the termination of the seclusion which follows the first appearance of her menses. When she makes her début, it is with a spear or club in one hand, a bunch of betel-nuts in the other, and a bark-cloth skirt about her waist with a hole in it which is supposed to, but does not, show her genitalia. No satisfactory reason was given for this last detail, except that a girl would be subject to ridicule afterwards if it were not carried out. In the majority of the Orokaiva tribes the girl continues to wear an ordinary *bo* skirt after the ceremony; but among the Aiga and the River People this investiture is only an incident. The girl, although fully developed, goes naked until her marriage, only wearing a *bo* during her periods. This custom, viz. of unmarried girls going naked, is falling into disuse.

The Initiation Cycle. Usually about the age of puberty, but sometimes earlier, boys and girls undergo an initiation; though it is only among the Southern Orokaiva that the ceremony takes a definite and unmistakable form. Here the candidates (male and female) are subjected to a good deal of horse-play at the hands of men impersonating *embahi* or *siango*, i.e. spirits of the dead; and in the course of it they are introduced to the bull-roarer and the sacred flute, which are of course objects of mystery to the uninitiated children.

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881 Among the Aiga and the River People, where the bull-roarer and the sacred flute are unknown, it seems that the place of this initiation ceremony is in some degree taken by the mime or drama. In this drama the initiate may play a minor part, and he is brought into contact with an impersonation of the dead.

After the initiation, or the dramatic performance which takes the place of an initiation, there follows a seclusion of some months. At the termination of the seclusion the initiates make a formal début, and are presented with certain [431] gifts, consisting principally of feather head-dresses, to which is given the general name *kokumbari*. The word means literally 'decoration', and the ceremony amounts to a formal investiture which is necessary before a boy or a girl is entitled to wear a head-dress.

881 Another kind of gift is often made on the occasion of the 431 *kokumbari*. This is known as *otobu*, and consists of a 301 specially valuable and distinctive ornament or object which the candidate is thenceforward permitted to use. Its possession involves certain ethical obligations, and formerly in some cases it constituted a distinctive ornament of the homicide. The bestowal of the *otobu* may be reserved for a subsequent occasion, but in the majority of instances it appears that the moment of the début is regarded as favourable for the presentation. I shall therefore deal with the *otobu* as if it formed an integral part of what we might term the initiation cycle. Various precautionary or cleansing rites, principal among them being the eating of a ceremonial stew called *suna*, bring the cycle to a close.

881 To summarize on the matters of initiation and seclusion it will be seen that there is a series of distinct episodes, viz. (1) initiation to the bull-roarer and the sacred flutes (or among the northern Orokaiva the mime or drama which probably takes the place of initiation); (2) seclusion; (3) début with the *kokumbari* or decoration; and (4) presentation of the *otobu*. The whole cycle concludes (5) with the eating of a purificatory stew called *suna*.

The above summary disregards one or two minor differences between tribes as to the sequence of the episodes.

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but there is no reason to suppose that they are due to degeneracy or a modern neglect of old social laws. The above facts relate to the Aiga, and although this tribe has long been under Government control and has sent many boys to indentured labour, it has never had white residents among it and has not been under a missionary. I cannot see, therefore, what new influences as yet should have broken down the old marriage restrictions, such as they were, among the Aiga tribe. 582

It may be mentioned that there is in native life always a certain degree of local endogamy following as a necessary result from the tribal enmities which make it dangerous for a man to go too far afield. Among the Orokaiva, however, where the tribes are very large, this is less pronounced than in some other parts of the Territory, and it cannot have given rise to that degree of inbreeding which is found in those parts and which has been by some so seriously regarded.

Courtship. Young children are sometimes betrothed by their parents. This transaction is called *kerari*, and from the beginning the boy's father will make continual presents of food to the girl's people, by which he lays them under an obligation. The *kerari*, while perfectly regular, is relatively uncommon. Witnesses have said that it invariably implies an exchange, i.e. the adult parties to the transaction each have both a boy and a girl at their disposal. Consequently the gifts of food are in the ordinary instance reciprocal. The *kerari* betrothal will probably reach a happy ending in marriage, but it is always subject to a sudden alteration when a pubescent girl or boy begins to show wayward preferences. It is said that a parent will urge his daughter to marry the boy she is pledged to without undue delay, for fear she should take a fancy to some other and let her father down by decamping. 584 [431]

One is happy to say, however, that courtship usually takes a more romantic form than that of child betrothal. There is a word with a somewhat intriguing sound, viz. *kigi*, which implies clandestine meetings and love-making in the bush. A boy will go to where he knows a girl is at work in

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initiate's head. This decoration consists not only of feather-sets but of shell and ivory ornaments, particularly strings of dogs' teeth wound round and round the bunch of hair. One boy, when I saw him submitting patiently to the ministrations of his attendant, already had nine strings of dogs' teeth round his hair at the back, each consisting of perhaps 150 teeth, and he was then waiting for more. It will be easily imagined that the weight of this portentous mass of feathers and ornaments is very considerable, and as the process of decorating lasted some hours the eyes of their wearers were already blinking with fatigue at this early stage of the day. Oppressed either with the weight or the magnificence of their headdresses, they held their heads as still as possible or moved them stiffly, like a man unaccustomed to an evening shirt.

I have been assured that it is the function of the *nobo*, or maternal uncle, to present the *kokumbari*, for which he receives payment from the initiate's father in the form of a pig, and from his mother in the form of a pot (*obu*), a wooden bowl (*teva*), a water calabash, a *bo*, a netted bag (*eti*), a fish-net (*eutu*), and a spear. But, as so often in the case of such rules, we find on looking into the matter that other relatives may equally well perform the function. Thus in the present instance I recorded more cases where the *kokumbari* was given by the paternal uncle than where it was given by the maternal uncle. In other cases, again, it was given by the elder brother. On the whole, however, it may be regarded as proper for the *nobo* to give the *kokumbari*, as I have also heard that it is proper for him to attend to the initiate during his seclusion. But neither of these rules is observed with strictness.

While the decoration of the initiates is going forward, guests are arriving in the village. On such occasions it is the custom, not for the hosts, but for the guests, to perform a dance. (On a future occasion the invitation will be returned, and the hosts in the present instance will then be the performers.) In the ceremony at Divina Kovari two such parties of dancers arrived, one before and one after the formal entry of the decorated initiates. It is not necessary

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ornate, with pendants and rosettes of dogs' teeth and scarlet seeds. They do not take the form of feather head-dresses, which constitute what I have throughout called the *kokumbari*. It will be understood, though, that the word *kokumbari* means literally 'decorate', and might correctly be applied to the *otobu*. A distinction is sometimes drawn between *di-kokumbari* (bird or feather decoration) and *hambo-kokumbari* (ornament decoration), the latter, of course, meaning the *otobu*. However, I shall continue to restrict the word '*kokumbari*' to the feather decorations which every initiate receives, and which are, as it were, cheaper than the *otobu*.

I have been assured that, whereas the *kokumbari* is given properly by the *nobo*, the *otobu* is given by the *mama* (not the actual father, but one of the paternal uncles); but we find that the latter rule, like the former, will not come well out of the wash. It is customary, of course, for the candidate's parents to supply the pig which is the price of the *otobu*. (In some cases he does so himself.) The father will bespeak the services of some other—a craftsman—to make the actual ornament, and this man (the *otobu-embo*) is called upon as much for his skill and artistry as for any special relationship he bears to the boy. Among twenty-one cases it appeared that the *otobu-embo* was *mama* to the candidate in nine (in one of them he was the real father), *nobo* in six, *bitepemi* in three, *nabori* in one, *abije* (grandfather) in one, and in the last he was of no recognized relationship but merely *otavo*, or friend, to the candidate's father.

There is no actual social necessity for every man to receive an *otobu*, though it seems probable that at some time or other nearly every one does. And these further points are significant, that one person may receive a number of them at different times, and that he may receive them at any age.

The usual occasion for presenting them is at the *kokumbari* ceremony in which the recipients are sometimes quite young children who are still a long way from puberty. Again, as we have seen, the *otobu* may be given to the man-slayer (though this is not absolutely invariable). But it appears further that an opportunity for bestowing an *otobu* might be made at any and every ceremony. Thus, for in-

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stance, at a dance in Petakiari, when a widow ceremonially discarded her mourning jacket of *baja*, or Job's Tears, she was presented with an *otobu* in the form of a specially decorated *bo*, and this with all the usual formalities.

In view of these facts we may regard the *otobu* as embodying a social distinction. It implies that its owner has paid a pig, or that it has been paid in his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired. Further, to the native who loves ostentation the *otobu* is worth having for its own sake, apart from any social distinction it may connote: it is a fine thing, for instance, to wear a 'magnet-shaped' shell ornament (*mendo*) passed through one's nose-hole and dangling somewhat awkwardly in front of one's lips, or to sit and rattle one's spatula noisily in the shell mouth-piece of an *otobu* lime-pot. In short the *otobu* has both honorific and decorative value.

It would seem that in Orokaiva custom as we find it there is no very essential difference between the 'pig *otobu*' and the 'man *otobu*',[1] or *esa*. They are of the same nature, but one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. As we have seen, a victim's body may be used alternatively with that of a pig to satisfy social obligations, as, e.g., in the matter of a bride-price. It is therefore likely that a man who had a corpse at his disposal might equally acquire an *otobu* with it, and in this view it would appear that the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*, was less an *insigne* conferred, *causa honoris*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otobu* purchased with the body of his victim.

Against this view, however, are the facts that certain of the *otobu* ornaments assuredly do stand more or less distinctively as homicidal insignia, and that in conferring an *otobu* a warrior of renown always recites his past conquests and sometimes calls upon the candidates to follow his martial example. These facts may hint that all *otobu* were originally dependant upon the slaying of a man, the pig *otobu* being nothing more than a poor and unromantic sub-

[1] See p. 178; also Beaver, 'Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 98.

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general distribution. At any rate they illustrate only one of the theories as to the transformation of human beings into *sovai*. It is after this disagreeable rite has been performed that the widow moves from the grave shelter to the house, or in former times, we may assume, from the ground under the house to the living room above.

It is the general rule for the widow to be secluded in the house of her husband, though in some instances it appears that the house in which the deceased lived is tabu, being avoided on account of fear. But such cases are evidently exceptional. In the event of evacuation it was not the custom to destroy the house but to leave it, probably surrounded by a tabu string. A house is left when it is thought to be 'haunted' by a *sovai*, and it is not only in a house of recent death that this supposed situation can arise. I have known a young married pair abandon a house because their baby was continually ailing, a fact which they attributed to the presence of a *sovai*. Similarly a whole village may be deserted if its inhabitants get the idea into their heads that it is haunted by malignant spirits.

It is only upon the widow, not upon the other womenfolk of the deceased, that rigid seclusion is enforced; though a mother will voluntarily remain for a long time at the grave of her child. In some tribes the widower undergoes seclusion. This is so, I understand, in the Wasida, Sangara, Sauaha, Yega, and Tain-Daware tribes. Among the Aiga and the Binandele he is not secluded. Of the other tribes I have no reliable information.

During seclusion the widow (or the widower) is engaged in making the mourning jacket *baja*—so called because it is made of *baja* (*coix lachrimae* seeds, or Job's Tears). She has no other work to do. She receives frequent friendly visits from the women of the village, who make her presents of food and assist her to make the *baja*, for which the seeds are gathered by her son or some relative of the deceased. She is not seen by the villagers, and her voice is supposed to remain unheard. Indeed, while living for some months in a village rest-house I was completely unaware that a widow was secluded in the house opposite, and that

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Perhaps the most characteristic of them all is *liberality*. The liberal man is *bandembo*, the word *bande* meaning distribution, or especially the sharing out of food. It is easy to understand how this should be a popular virtue, for the Orokaiva, like other natives, are much addicted to the making of feasts—and not because of a merely gluttonous appetite, as some who know least about natives have supposed, but more because of the glamour and the excitement of a social gathering. It is true we cannot acquit the *bandembo* of a certain motive of self-display; for there is nothing, not valour in war nor prowess in the chase, that brings an Orokaiva so prominently into the public eye as the providing of a big feast. Yet no one could deny the existence of true generosity. This is shown in countless details of daily life. The paddler pauses to refresh himself with cold cooked taro; he wrenches a mouthful with his strong teeth and hands the lump without a word to the man behind him, as a boy might give his chum a bite out of the apple. Or when the carriers halt for a 'smokeoh' and receive their stick of tobacco, there is never one of them but has a puff or two; and when they push on again with their loads, a man will place a half-finished cigarette on a stump by the track, and another coming behind will hastily snatch it, take a few draws, and leave it once more on another stump fifty yards farther on for the next man.

Although there is no systematic sharing of food supplies, yet the constant gifts and the feasts large and small achieve in the long run what amounts to equal distribution. As we have seen, the family is a self-supporting unit and garden produce is privately owned; further, since every man and woman works hard enough for the supply of immediate wants, there is no scarcity (except in a hard season when all may suffer alike). Therefore we may take it that in common daily life the consumption of food is fairly equal all round, and when a man with his family and dependants have a surplus, that surplus will not be devoted to private over-eating, but to a feast; and the succession of these feasts means in the long run that the fairly equal distribution of food is maintained. To give freely of one's food is regarded as the

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proper thing to do; it is an elementary virtue in respect of which there are few failures. Of actual greed it is hard to find any evidence: informants quite understand what is meant by the word, yet I never persuaded them to name a man with a reputation for it. No man, I am told, would hesitate to ask for food among his own people, nor for betel and tobacco among outsiders—though to speak truth the asking would probably never be needed; but it appears there are some who go beyond proper bounds and are inclined to impose on hospitality. Such individuals are called *basiri*, though I do not believe there are many of them; indeed, it was stoutly affirmed in one quarter that there were none except for children, who had a right to be *basiri*.

For his liberality a man receives a reward of honour; but beyond that—and this should not be thought to disqualify it entirely as a virtue—he constantly looks for an equal return in kind. This is one of the striking features of primitive economics—the return of gift for gift, the maintaining of a balance. The return may be made long subsequently, but it may be called a matter of honour to equal or exceed the original gift; just as it is a matter of disgrace and lowered self-esteem to fail. There can be no question that self-display enters into the primitive virtue of liberality, and it is in respect of worldly wealth that the individual seeks most to display himself. One might almost say that the native made a virtue of wealth and that liberality was compounded of two things—mere wealth and true generosity.

There are many observers of Papuan natives who will be amused at the inclusion of *industry* with the other Orokaiva virtues. While having no practical interest in the amount of work a native does, I cannot in my own judgement absolve him from the charge of laziness; but nevertheless, allowing a relative value to the term, industry is regarded in native eyes as deserving of commendation. The industrious man is *pure-buso*, which means simply expert in or given to gardening, for *pure*, the garden, is the usual scene of Orokaiva labour. A lazy man, in the native sense, is *pure-ambo*, literally one who is not a gardener, and of course the term applies as well to the other branches of work. It is perhaps

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to keep on friendly terms with the other members of the sympathy-group, and I shall refer to it as the Sympathetic Sanction. This considerateness is constantly evinced in daily life, e.g. by a reticence regarding the peculiarities of one's neighbours, by an absence of any cruel competitive spirit by which one man seeks profit at another's expense, even by the reluctance to exercise compulsion on another individual; and I believe that the common regard for property rights is supported by this sanction more strongly than by the fear of retaliation or of public censure, which are rather in the nature of reinforcements; for Orokaiva property, for instance, is nearly always safe from the thief even when he is absolutely free from the risk of detection, and I believe he respects it primarily out of consideration for its owner.

But it is from the negative instances that we may most safely deduce the value of the sympathetic sanction; that is to say, when the sanction has failed to work and some personal offence has been committed, we may observe the psychological effect upon the offender. In such an event the offender is amply punished by being thoroughly sorry for his victim and thoroughly ashamed of himself. We may consider a simple instance (though in our eyes a somewhat extraordinary one), viz. when a man inadvertently uses the name of his brother-in-law, which the Orokaiva regards as a very grave insult. The unfortunate offender will throw his hands up with a despairing gesture and hang his head in shame and confusion which are truly comical to behold; while the brother-in-law, if he chance to have overheard, will be deeply offended and, strangely enough, covered with equal shame. The matter can only be mended by a gift.

The conciliatory gift is a characteristic way of compensating for personal wrong. In a case previously referred to (p. 186), where a man had given a youth some feathers to wear before his formal investiture with the *kokuwhari*, and

for the feelings of others, I think that the statement is generally true of the Papuan' (Sir Hubert Murray, *Papua of To-day*, p. 223). Upon looking up this passage I was so struck by its appositeness to the present chapter, that I suspect it must have had something to do with shaping the general views expressed therein, more indeed than I realized when writing.

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627 by so doing had offended the boy's relatives, he immediately
431 sought to make amends. He left the village, but presently
came striding back with a half-grown pig across his shoulders; holding the animal by the hind legs he swung it round and dashed its head against the butt of a coco-nut palm, and then flung it dead at the feet of the man he had offended. Not many moments after, I saw one of the latter's brothers enter the village with a fine dog on his shoulders and go through precisely the same performance, killing it against the same tree and offering it as a return present. The pay-back of the conciliatory gift is indeed almost the regular thing: there are numerous instances of quarrels and fights over such matters as theft or interference with garden boundaries, which have been settled eventually by an exchange of pigs, not only the offender but the victim also showing a genuine desire to resume friendly relations. It is
626 not to be supposed, of course, that the sympathetic sanction
152 is infallible. The man who does wrong to another no doubt often 'gets away with it', remaining undetected and perhaps suffering few regrets; but there is no question that he is often exceedingly contrite. It would almost seem that the victim plays upon the feelings of the offender to secure this result, though it would not do invariably to attribute any such definite intention to a man who is deeply affected by a sense of wrong. But the Orokaiva can on occasion be very sorry for himself, and it would seem that he wants others to be sorry for him, and particularly the man who has wronged him. His attitude is not so much 'I'll make you sorry for what you have done' as 'I'll make you sorry for me'; and so he takes 'the revenge of being injured'. Accordingly we find a person under a sense of wrong going to extraordinary lengths of self-castigation, from merely fasting or running away from home for a while, to delivering himself up to an enemy tribe or hanging himself from a tree. I have seen a dozen water-melons hacked into fragments and strewn upon the track. Their owner, finding one of them stolen, had demolished the whole crop and carried them to the path where the thief, whose identity he did not know, would pass and realize what he had done. Similarly I have seen a young

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detected—among a class of well-grown young females—by the missionary's nostrils. The reason for this taboo seems to lie in the supposed efficacy of running water, which will not only cleanse away impurity, but also carry off and dissipate the *mana* of the prophet. It is in keeping with this idea that the Taro novice be allowed, if necessary, to wash in *still*, swampy water. The taboos which are incumbent upon the professing Taro man will call for further description. The probationary taboo against washing should normally come to an end only with the permission of the superior who has been responsible for the novice's entry into the cult; but it must not be supposed that this rule is carried out in any strictness.

It sometimes happens that an aspirant grows tired of the restrictions which are imposed upon him; and even a qualified Taro man may voluntarily break through them and *ipso facto* relinquish his status. Thus we find 'resignations', sometimes because of the constant tiresome *jipari*, sometimes because of the taboo upon bathing, sometimes because the temptation of forbidden foods cannot be resisted. One man said he had given over the Taro because he was hungry for eels, *obiti*, which are banned to the faithful. Another, wounded in a village affray and temporarily incapacitated, had obtained a sort of absolution from the man who introduced him to the cult, and by bathing in a stream thus automatically ceased to be a Taro man.

It is entirely in keeping with native custom that payment should be made by the initiate to his superior, though such payment does not seem to be necessary or invariable. At any rate, it is not so much that the master makes a charge, but rather that the disciple makes a gift in return for services rendered. It is said that the improvement in the taro crop will amply justify the gratitude of the new Taro man to his teacher.

A man of Katuna—now a veritable hot-bed of Taro—had visited Buninia in the early days of the cult. Sleeping in the master's house he shook and dreamt simultane-

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X 794 ously, and awoke to the realization that he had received
792 the Taro. When subsequently Buninia paid a visit to
431 Katuna, all the friends of the recent convert contributed
● to the reward—a pig and a number of ornaments.

I have known an old man express himself delighted at his son's conversion to *Diroga*, declaring that he meant to reward the man who had initiated him. When we hear the initiator declaring (probably with truth) that he means to make a return present to the old man, we understand that the payments—if so we may call them—are neither formal nor exacting. The payments for 'curing' are sometimes of a different character, and will be referred to again.

X 794 (2) *Direct Inspiration.* It has been said that the Taro
787 man, besides acknowledging his debt to another Taro man before him, commonly claims to receive a direct inspiration of his own. 'Taking the Taro'—as the expression goes—means primarily being possessed by the spirit (either of the taro itself or of the dead), and the first symptom of this possession is some kind of involuntary movement of the body, perhaps nothing more than a twitching of the shoulder. This usually takes place in the learner while he is in some close association with the teacher, i.e. the latter communicates the 'Taro' to the former. As we have seen (pp. 31–2), contiguity or contact or some more or less remote association is required between the two. But it is not merely a sort of spiritual transfusion. Ideas are a little mixed on this point, but in the great majority of cases it appears that the learner is possessed by a different spirit from that which possesses the teacher. (This presumption on the part of the native makes it difficult for him to explain why the possession of any man usually takes place through association with one already possessed. The reason seems obvious enough to us, but perhaps is not sufficiently profound for native metaphysics. At any rate this point was never satisfactorily explained.)

Besides being indebted to the teacher in this somewhat